

January 4, 1963

TO: The Secretary

FROM: S/S

SUBJECT: AFR - Mr. Harwin

SUBJECT: Possible further action on Cuban Problem in OAS.

The attached two draft resolutions represent the probable maximum feasible action by the OAS following conclusion of the U.S.-Soviet talks and the reversion of the Cuban problem to the OAS context. Under the first resolution (Tab A) the Council, as Organ of Consultation under the Rio Treaty, would

- 1) condemn Cuba for endangering the peace by permitting Soviet missiles and troops, deplore its refusal to allow inspection and express concern over the presence of Soviet troops;
- 2) recommend continued surveillance by member states;
- 3) request the Council (under Article del este Resolutions II and VIII) to increase vigilance against subversion and to recommend appropriate economic measures;
- 4) reiterate hope for a free Cuba; and
- 5) terminate its action as Organ of Consultation under the Rio Treaty, which we initiated October 23rd.

The second Resolution (Tab B), which would thereafter be approved by the OAS as such under Resolution VIII of Punta del Este, would

- 1) recommend extension of the arms embargo to include all strategic items;
- 2) recommend that member states prohibit their ships from transporting strategic items and deny use of their ports to ships in bloc-bloc trade;
- 3) recommend denial of overflights or landing rights to Soviet aircraft on bloc-bloc runs; and
- 4) call

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4) call on all other states to take similar steps.

If you agree, we will begin to consultations on this proposal, first with selected OAS's tending to favor strong action and, according favorable prospects, with the residence to of Mexico, Chile and possibly Brazil, before deciding to go ahead. Preliminary survey estimates of acceptability of this proposal to these three governments are attached (Tab C). These consultations may show that the language should be softened in some respects.

We are assuming that, as part of U.S. policy, we will proceed shortly to institute our pending shipping controls, to implement Article 107 of the Foreign Assistance Act and to discuss Cuban trade and shipping restrictions with our NATO allies. Thus the proposed resolutions, preserving the hemisphere context of the Cuban problem, would give us a helpful (but not necessary) multilateral basis for our actions and would constitute an element of pressure on other countries. So far as Latin American-Cuban trade is concerned, however, the effect of the second Resolution is far more psychological than practical, since there is little if any Latin American trade with Cuba on COMINT items.

Should consultations prove it difficult to obtain close to unanimity on the foregoing, we will wish to consider what measures of psychological and practical effect might be taken with the other American Republics on a bilateral basis.

Meanwhile, we are (1) continuing to press in the OAS Committee and the Special Security Commission on measures to control the movement of persons, funds and propaganda from Cuba and (2) planning to resume talks, initiated before the missile crisis, with Caribbean countries on possible special military and anti-subversion security arrangements, although several current political factors make it difficult to estimate prospects for concrete action now.

Attachments:

Draft OAS/CS Resolution (Tab A).
Draft OAS Resolution (Tab B).
Four Telegrams (Tab C).

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TRANSCRIBED PAGES FOLLOW

(Pages One and Two Only)

January 4, 1963

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: ARA - Mr. Martin

SUBJECT: Possible Further Action on Cuban Problem in OAS

The attached two draft Resolutions represent the probable maximum feasible action by the OAS following conclusion of the U.S.-Soviet talks and the reversion of the Cuba problem to the OAS context. Under the first Resolution (Tab A) the Council, as Organ of Consultation under the Rio Treaty, would

- 1) condemn Cuba for endangering the peace by permitting Soviet missiles and troops, deplore its refusal to allow inspection and express concern over the presence of Soviet troops;
- 2) recommend continued surveillance by member states;
- 3) request the Council (under Punta del Este Resolutions II and VIII) to increase vigilance against subversion and to recommend appropriate economic measures;
- 4) reiterate hope for a free Cuba; and
- 5) terminate its action as Organ of Consultation under the Rio Treaty, which we initiated October 23rd.

The second Resolution (Tab B), which would thereafter be approved by the OAS as such under Resolution VIII of Punta del Este, would:

- 1) recommend extension of the arms shortage to include all strategic items;
- 2) recommend that member states prohibit their ships from transporting strategic items and deny use of their ports to ship in bloc-Cuba trade;
- 3) recommend denial of overflights or landing rights to Soviet aircraft on bloc-Cuba runs; and

4) call on all other states to take similar steps.

If you approve, we will initiate consultations on this approach, first with selected OAR's tending to favor strong action and, assuming favorable prospects, with the Presidents of Mexico, Chile and possibly Brazil, before deciding to go ahead. Preliminary Embassy estimates of acceptability of this approach to these three governments are attached (Tab C). These consultations may show that the language should be softened in some respects.

We are assuming that, as part of U.S. policy, we will proceed shortly to institute our pending shipping controls, to implement Article 107 of the Foreign Assistance Act and to discuss Cuban trade and shipping restrictions with our NATO allies. Thus the proposed resolutions, preserving the hemisphere context of the Cuban problem, would give us a helpful (but not necessary) multilateral basis for our actions and would constitute an element of pressure on other countries. So far as Latin American-Cuban trade is concerned, however, the effect of the second Resolution is far more psychological than practical, since there is little if any Latin American trade with Cuba on COCOM items.

Should consultations prove it difficult to obtain close to unanimity on the foregoing, we will wish to consider what measures of psychological and practical effect might be taken with the other American Republics on a bilateral basis.

Meanwhile, we are (1) continuing to press in the COAS Committee and the Special Security Commission on measures to control the movement of persons, funds and propaganda from Cuba and (2) planning to resume talks, initiated before the missile crisis, with Caribbean countries on possible special military and anti-subversion security arrangements, although several current political factors make it difficult to estimate prospects for current action now.

Draft Resolution on Cuba for Adoption by COAS as
Organ of Consultation under Rio Treaty

WHEREAS,

The Council of the Organization of American States, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, on October 23, 1962, determined that "incontrovertible evidence has appeared that the Government of Cuba, despite repeated warnings, has secretly endangered the peace of the Continent by permitting the Sino-Soviet powers to have intermediate and middle-range missiles on its territory capable of carrying nuclear warheads";

At that meeting the Organ of Consultation called for "the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other weapons with any offensive capability" and recommended "that the member states in accordance with articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance take all measures, individually and collectively, including the use of armed force, which they may deem necessary to ensure that the Government of Cuba cannot continue to receive from the Sino-Soviet powers military materiel and related supplies which may threaten the peace and security of the Continent and to prevent the missiles in Cuba with offensive capabilities from ever becoming an active threat to the peace and security of the Continent";

The Organ of Consultation also resolved "to inform the Security Council of the United Nations of its resolution in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations and to express the hope that the Security Council would, in accordance with the draft resolution introduced by the United States, dispatch United Nations observers to Cuba at the earliest moment";

It is believed that the USSR has removed from Cuba all weapons systems capable of offensive use, but it has not been possible to verify this through appropriate United Nations observation and supervision because of the refusal of the Cuban Government;

The Government of Cuba has likewise rejected attempts to arrange suitable safeguards against the reintroduction of offensive weapons systems into Cuba;

The Organ of Consultation subsequent to its decision of October 23, 1962 has learned of the presence of Soviet military bases in Cuba in which are stationed thousands of Soviet military personnel, a substantial portion of whom comprise regular combat units of the Soviet armed forces;

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ACTING PROVISIONALLY AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION,

AGREES:

1. To condemn the Government of Cuba for its complicity in facilitating the military intervention of the Soviet Union in this hemisphere by stationing missile and other offensive weapon systems with nuclear capability on Cuban territory and by establishing military bases manned by Soviet combat units in Cuba, thereby endangering the peace and security of the Continent;
2. To deplore the refusal of the Cuban Government to allow appropriate United Nations observation and supervision to insure compliance with the agreements reached for the withdrawal of the missiles and offensive weapon systems and the establishment of suitable safeguards to halt the further introduction of such weapon systems into Cuba, thereby defying the desires of the world community;
3. To express deepest concern over the continued stationing in Cuba of thousands of Soviet military personnel and the implications of the presence of this extra-continental military force for the free exercise of the right of self-determination by the Cuban people and for the peace and security of the other peoples of the Continent; and

DECIDES:

1. To recommend that the member states, in the face of the refusal by the Cuban Government to accept appropriate United Nations observation and supervision of removal of Soviet offensive weapon systems from Cuba and suitable safeguards further introduction of such weapon systems into Cuba, undertake all necessary surveillance to determine the nature of military preparations in Cuba which may represent a threat to the peace and security of the Continent, and keep the Council of the OAS informed of their findings.

2. To request the Council of the OAS, in the light of the Soviet effort to establish offensive weapon systems in Cuba, the continued presence of Soviet combat units on Cuban territory, and the increasing seriousness of the subversive threat of Castro communism as reflected in the wave of terrorism, sabotage and other subversive activity occurring during recent weeks in Venezuela, to increase its vigilance pursuant to paragraph 1 of Resolution II of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

3. To request the Council of the OAS to recommend appropriate action, pursuant to Resolution VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, extending the suspension of trade with Cuba taking into in previous paragraphs of this resolution.

4. To reiterate the traditional fraternal affection of all the American peoples for the people of Cuba and their deep sympathy for the victims of the present regime, as well as the hope that the Cuban people may return as a full member of the democratic American family of nations, under a government compatible with the purposes and principles of the inter-American system.

5. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of the present resolution, in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter, and request the Secretary General of that Organization to distribute the complete text of this resolution to all the member states.

6. To cancel the convocation of the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs which, in conformity with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was made in the resolution approved by the Council of the Organization on October 23, 1962, and consequently to terminate the action of the Council serving provisionally as Organ of Consultation.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CUBA
for adoption by COAS,
following adoption of Proposed Resolution under Tab A

WHEREAS:

Resolution VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics charged the Council of the Organization of American States, in accordance with the circumstances and with due consideration for the constitutional and legal limitations of each and every one of the member states, with studying the feasibility and desirability of extending the suspension of trade with Cuba, with special attention to items of strategic importance;

The Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in their communique issued at the conclusion of the informal meeting held on October 2-3, 1962 expressed the need for undertaking the actions called for by Resolution VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation, especially paragraph 2, also including the use of their ships in the Cuban trade, in the light of new developments taking place in Cuba, and called upon all other independent countries to review their policies in this regard; and

The COAS/OC in its resolution [the proposed Resolution under Tab A] agreed:

"To condemn the Government of Cuba for its complicity in facilitating the military intervention of the Soviet Union in this hemisphere by stationing missile and other offensive weapon systems with nuclear capability on Cuban territory and by establishing military bases manned by Soviet combat units in Cuba, thereby endangering the peace and security of the Continent".

In paragraph 3 of the same resolution the COAS/OC decided:

"To

"To request the Council of the OAS to recommend appropriate action, pursuant, to Resolution VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, extending the suspension of trade with Cuba, taking into consideration the circumstances created by Soviet-Cuban actions described in previous paragraphs of this resolution."

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

RESOLVES:

1. That it is feasible and desirable that the member states extend the suspension of their trade with Cuba to include all items which in the opinion of the individual member states are of strategic importance.

2. To recommend that member states prohibit the use of vessels under their registry or ownership from transporting to Cuba the items included in paragraph 1 and deny the use of their ports to vessels engaging in trade between Cuba and Sino-Soviet bloc countries or carrying any of the items included in paragraph 1.

3. To recommend that the member states deny the use of their territorial air space and airports to aircraft of the USSR flying between Cuba and Sino-Soviet bloc countries.

4. To call upon all other states to adopt to the fullest extent possible measures similar to those contained in the preceding paragraphs in their trade and air communications with Cuba.